US Efforts to Dampen the Cyprus Crisis
December 1963 - March 1964

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The roots of the Cyprus dispute can be traced to the long-standing friction between the two ethnic communities on the island. The immediate cause of the hostilities between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, which erupted in December 1963, stemmed from the complex Cypriot Constitution. The Constitution, promulgated in 1960 when Cyprus became independent, was based upon the London-Zurich agreements of 1959. These agreements had been reached by Greece, Turkey, and the UK and were accepted by representatives of both Cypriot communities. There were subsequently incorporated in a series of treaties and in the Cyprus Constitution.*

The Treaty of Guarantee provided that the guarantor powers -- the UK, Turkey, and Greece -- would assure "the independence and territorial integrity and security" of Cyprus and guarantee the basic articles of the Constitution. In addition to setting forth the framework of the new state, the Cyprus Constitution provided the Turkish minority with considerable autonomy in communal affairs and a veto over important government matters. The Treaty of Alliance established a common defense arrangement between the three guarantor powers and the Cyprus Republic, and the Treaty of Establishment granted the UK sovereignty over two base areas retained by the British after Cypriot independence.

From the viewpoint of the Greek Cypriot leaders, including President Makarios, the provisions of the London-Zurich agreements were inconsistent with national sovereignty. Archbishop Makarios had accepted the agreements reluctantly as the price of Cypriot independence, but soon began to contemplate changes aimed at eliminating the special rights of the Turkish community. As a result, tensions between the two communities rose again. A climax was reached in November 1963 when Makarios proposed to the Turkish Cypriot

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*Treaty of Alliance; Treaty of Guarantee; and the Treaty Concerning the Establishment of the Republic of Cyprus. (American Foreign Policy, Current Documents, 1959. Department of State Publication 7492, Washington, 1963, pp. 765-775.)

Vice President a series of 13 constitutional changes designed to establish a unitary Cypriot state by eliminating the special rights of the Turkish community. As could be expected, the Turkish Cypriots rejected the proposals. Violence broke out between the two communities on December 21, 1963. Although the conflict was localized, the fact that each community was supported by one of the guarantor powers -- Greece or Turkey -- made the dispute a potential threat to NATO solidarity. The Cyprus representatives soon referred the dispute to the UN Security Council, charging Turkish aggression. By the time the Council had convened, the guarantor powers had restored a measure of order through the establishment of a joint peace force composed of Greek, Turkish and British troops who were already on the island under the provisions of the London-Zurich agreements. The Security Council briefly considered the dispute at the time and then adjourned.

Following the creation of the three-power peace force, the search for a more permanent arrangement continued. Representatives of the UK, Greece, Turkey and both Cypriot communities convened in London in January 1964. The conference produced two sets of proposals for an expanded peacekeeping force: 1)a force composed of selected national contingents from countries "friendly to Cyprus" which would serve for three months under a British commander. This force would include the Greek and Turkish units then on Cyprus; 2)an international force composed of national contingents, serving also for three months, during which period the guarantor powers would agree not to exercise their rights of unilateral intervention under the Treaty of Guarantee. The proposals also provided for a UN mediator to assist the parties in resolving their differences. The Cyprus Government, whose Turkish Cypriot members no longer functioned, rejected both sets of proposals. It agreed in principle to an international peace force, but wanted the force to exclude Greek and Turkish units and to be directly responsible to the UN. Makarios also objected to an international force composed primarily of contingents from NATO members.

While the guarantor powers searched for an answer to the

Cyprus problem, the US indicated its readiness to assist those directly concerned to find a solution. This willingness was stated by President Johnson at an early stage when he declared that he would continue to do everything he could "to support any and all actions proposed by the three guarantor powers which offer any reasonable hope of assisting in a peaceful solution."* This concern increased with the continued inability of the parties to reach any agreement and led to greater efforts by the US to help in achieving a peaceful solution. During January and February 1964, Under Secretary of State George Ball visited London, Athens, Ankara, and Nicosia in an effort to lend US support to the proposals of the guarantor powers.** The US also was willing, as expressed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk, to contribute forces to a peacekeeping operation.*** However, the guarantor powers were unable to produce a solution acceptable to the Cyprus Government, and the question was again referred to the Security Council in mid-February.

As a result of the Council's deliberations, the UN peacekeeping operation was initiated under the terms of a Security Council resolution unanimously adopted on March 4, 1964. The resolution called for the creation, with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, of a UN force for a period of three months. This resolution was reaffirmed by another on March 13, 1964 which authorized the Secretary General to establish the peace force (UNIFICYP) on the basis of voluntary contributions of money and troops. Shortly after the passage of the March 4th resolution, President Johnson reaffirmed the US objective in the Cyprus dispute. In a letter to Soviet Premier Khrushchev early in March 1964, the President wrote that the US aim was "that of assisting the Cypriots to restore a peaceful situation in

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* Letter from President Johnson to Turkish President Cemal Gursel, December 26, 1963, (Department of State Bulletin, January 20, 1964, Vol. 50, No. 1282, p. 90.)

** New York Times, February 9, 1964, p. 20; February 11, 1964, p. 1; February 13, 1964, p.1; February 18, 1964, p. 1; February 17, 1964, pg. 1.

*** Press Conference February 7, 1964 (Department of State Bulletin, February 24, 1964, Vol. 50, No. 1287, p. 283.)

Cyprus", and he hailed the Security Council action as "a major step toward peace".* The peace force became operational on March 27, 1964, and, by the end of April, it consisted of over 6,000 military personnel from six UN members. The US played a vital role in the creation of UNFICYP by contributing $2 million and certain airlift facilities for the force for the initial period.

The initiation of UNFICYP represents the third instance in which a peacekeeping operation of the UNEF-ONUC type had been called into being. Creation of the force was made possible by the voluntary actions of member states and the willingness of the US to meet about 40 per cent of the costs of the force. The US contribution through December 26, 1966 has been $21.4 million out of total estimated force expenditures through this period of nearly $60 million. For the first time, a UN force included a contingent from a permanent member of the Security Council, the UK. Moreover, all permanent members concurred in the creation of the force which permitted the Security Council to play a positive role in discharging its responsibility for maintaining the peace. In its 33 months of operation, the achievements of the UN force have been impressive, and it has made substantial progress toward two of its major objectives: preventing a recurrence of hostilities and promoting the restoration of law and order. In addition, some progress has been made in easing existing economic and social problems. In sum, US support for the creation of UNFICYP and for the force's subsequent efforts to diminish intercommunal conflict has played an important part in the success of the peacekeeping effort on Cyprus. Though isolated shooting incidents have continued, they have not gotten out of hand and the force has had limited success in removing some of the fortifications erected by the opposing communities. In fact, with the exception of two serious engagements in August 1964, the force has prevented a recurrence of fighting, and even in those two cases UNFICYP played a major role in ending the fighting. However, the position of both sides has not relaxed to the extent that a solution of the basic

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*Washington Post, March 7, 1964, p. 1.

The Situation in Cyprus

Q. I wonder, Mr. Secretary, whether you could tell us where the Cyprus situation now stands and, if the fighting really gets worse there, whether the international force will still remain the best means of dealing with the situation, or whether you expect the British Government to deal with the situation.

A. Well, I think that today—and this is one of the troubles with press conferences; they happen on specific days [Laughter.]—that today I shouldn't say too much about that. As you know, we have made some proposals to the interested governments. We ourselves have felt for a period of months, as you know, that the primary responsibility in this matter was for the Government of Cyprus—the authorities on Cyprus—and the three guarantor powers.

Then there came a moment when it appeared that some new element would have to be injected into the situation if an agreement could be reached, and one strong suggestion from those involved was that the presence of forces from some other countries might assist, because Britain, Greece, and Turkey, who have forces on the island, had long connections with the problem and perhaps had had some special difficulties in relation to it.

Well, on that basis, if our friends felt that our contribution toward an international force, in which we would be a junior partner, would be helpful, we were prepared to entertain that, but on the basis that this would be acceptable to all those involved.

Now, these matters are now being discussed further. And I think since they are now being taken up in capitals with the governments—with the several capitals involved—that I should not comment on it much further here today.

Q. Mr. Secretary, I gather Premier Khrushchev is also now discussing it with President Johnson. Does the new note from Moscow on the issue of Cyprus change the situation in any degree?

A. I haven't had a chance to study it. I understand that what it says is this is a matter that ought to be discussed or taken up in the United Nations Security Council.

Q. Thank you.

A. Now, this question is on the agenda of the Security Council. I have no doubt that Cyprus will be discussed in the Security Council at some stage, but I just don't know the impact of that particular note. I haven't studied it.

Q. Mr. Secretary, summing up the functions of the Department of State, your last point was you work here in State to achieve what somebody quoted as "a common law of mankind." In that connection, sir, how long do you think we will be able to defend in the court of world opinion our unwillingness at times to negotiate certain things, say, such as Guantanamo or the Panama Canal? And in that same connection, does this in your mind—the talk—run contrary to the pursuit of a common law of mankind, that is, the world being the kind of world it is today, a new kind of world different from the world that did exist when you made these agreements? How can we defend this?

A. Well, those two situations are quite different. In the case of Panama we have said repeatedly that we will be ready to hear whatever the Government of Panama wishes to say on any subject affecting our relations with Panama. And that is one of the reasons for coming back to the conference table, so that these two historic friends can resume the sort of discourse which makes it possible to settle these problems.

Now, in the case of Guantanamo, that is quite another matter. Because the situation in Cuba does represent an intrusion of an extrahemispheric force into this hemisphere. It has been rejected by the states of this hemisphere. Activities are going on in and from Cuba aimed at the peace and good order of other states in the hemisphere. And we do not believe that this present regime in Cuba is the competent regime to talk about the future relationships between the Cuban people and the rest of us in the hemisphere on an enduring basis.

French Recognition of Peiping

Q. Mr. Secretary—sorry, may I ask that associated question I was going to ask some time ago, when you were talking about Southeast Asia—

E. *Relations With Certain Countries and Concerning Certain Problems of the Area*

THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT

247. AGREED FOUNDATION FOR THE FINAL SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM OF CYPRUS: Memorandum Adopted by the Governments of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey, London, February 19, 1959 [1]

The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Greece and the Prime Minister of the Turkish Republic,

Taking note of the Declaration by the Representative of the Greek-Cypriot Community and the Representative of the Turkish-Cypriot Community that they accept the documents annexed to this Memorandum as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus,

Hereby adopt, on behalf of their respective Governments, the documents annexed to this Memorandum and listed below, as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

On behalf of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	On behalf of the Government of the Kingdom of Greece	On behalf of the Government of the Turkish Republic
HAROLD MACMILLAN	C. KARAMANLIS	A. MENDERES

London,
February 19, 1959.

List of Documents Annexed

A.—Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus.
B.—Treaty of Guarantee between the Republic of Cyprus and Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey.
C.—Treaty of Alliance between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.
D.—Declaration made by the Government of the United Kingdom on February 17, 1959.
E.—Additional Article to be inserted in the Treaty of Guarantee.
F.—Declaration made by the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers on February 17, 1959.
G.—Declaration made by the Representative of the Greek-Cypriot Community on February 19, 1959.
H.—Declaration made by the Representative of the Turkish-Cypriot Community on February 19, 1959.
I.—Agreed Measures to prepare for the new arrangements in Cyprus.

(a)

Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus

1. The State of Cyprus shall be a Republic with a presidential régime, the President being Greek and the Vice-President Turkish elected by universal suffrage by the Greek and Turkish communities of the Island respectively.

[1] Cmnd. 679, Misc. No. 4 (1959).

2. The official languages of the Republic of Cyprus shall be Greek and Turkish. Legislative and administrative instruments and documents shall be drawn up and promulgated in the two official languages.

3. The Republic of Cyprus shall have its own flag of neutral design and colour, chosen jointly by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.

Authorities and communities shall have the right to fly the Greek and Turkish flags on holidays at the same time as the flag of Cyprus.

The Greek and Turkish communities shall have the right to celebrate Greek and Turkish national holidays.

4. The President and Vice-President shall be elected for a period of five years.

In the event of absence, impediment or vacancy of their posts, the President and the Vice-President shall be replaced by the President and the Vice-President of the House of Representatives respectively.

In the event of a vacancy in either post, the election of the new incumbents shall take place within a period of not more than 45 days.

The President and the Vice-President shall be invested by the House of Representatives, before which they shall take an oath of loyalty and respect for the Constitution. For this purpose, the House of Representatives shall meet within 24 hours after its constitution.

5. Executive authority shall be vested in the President and the Vice-President. For this purpose they shall have a Council of Ministers composed of seven Greek Ministers and three Turkish Ministers. The Ministers shall be designated respectively by the President and the Vice-President who shall appoint them by an instrument signed by them both.

The Ministers may be chosen from outside the House of Representatives.

Decisions of the Council of Ministers shall be taken by an absolute majority.

Decisions so taken shall be promulgated immediately by the President and the Vice-President by publication in the official gazette.

However, the President and the Vice-President shall have the right of final veto and the right to return the decisions of the Council of Ministers under the same conditions as those laid down for laws and decisions of the House of Representatives.

6. Legislative authority shall be vested in a House of Representatives elected for a period of five years by universal suffrage of each community separately in the proportion of 70 per cent. for the Greek community and 30 per cent. for the Turkish community, this proportion being fixed independently of statistical data. (*N.B.*—The number of Representatives shall be fixed by mutual agreement between the communities.)

The House of Representatives shall exercise authority in all matters other than those expressly reserved to the Communal Chambers. In the event of a conflict of authority, such conflict shall be decided by the Supreme Constitutional Court which shall be composed of one Greek, one Turk and one neutral, appointed jointly by the President and the Vice-President. The neutral judge shall be president of the Court.

7. Laws and decisions of the House of Representatives shall be adopted by a simple majority of the members present. They shall be promulgated within 15 days if neither the President nor the Vice-President returns them for reconsideration as provided in Point 9 below.

The Constitutional Law, with the exception of its basic articles, may be modified by a majority comprising two-thirds of the Greek members and two-thirds of the Turkish members of the House of Representatives.

Any modification of the electoral law and the adoption of any law relating to the municipalities and of any law imposing duties or taxes shall require a simple majority of the Greek and Turkish members of the House of Representatives taking part in the vote and considered separately.

On the adoption of the budget, the President and the Vice-President may exercise their right to return it to the House of Representatives, if in their judgment any question of discrimination arises. If the House maintains its decisions, the President and the Vice-President shall have the right of appeal to the Supreme Constitutional Court.

8. The President and the Vice-President, separately and conjointly, shall have the right of final veto on any law or decision concerning foreign affairs, except the participation of the Republic of Cyprus in international organisations and

pacts of alliance in which Greece and Turkey both participate, or concerning defence and security as defined in Annex I.

9. The President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall have, separately and conjointly, the right to return all laws and decisions, which may be returned to the House of Representatives within a period of not more than 15 days for reconsideration.

The House of Representatives shall pronounce within 15 days on any matter so returned. If the House of Representatives maintains its decisions, the President and the Vice-President shall promulgate the law or decision in question within the time-limits fixed for the promulgation of laws and decisions.

Laws and decisions, which are considered by the President or the Vice-President to discriminate against either of the two communities, shall be submitted to the Supreme Constitutional Court which may annul or confirm the law or decision, or return it to the House of Representatives for reconsideration, in whole or in part. The law or decision shall not become effective until the Supreme Constitutional Court or, where it has been returned, the House of Representatives has taken a decision on it.

10. Each community shall have its Communal Chamber composed of a number of representatives which it shall itself determine.

The Communal Chambers shall have the right to impose taxes and levies on members of their community to provide for their needs and for the needs of bodies and institutions under their supervision.

The Communal Chambers shall exercise authority in all religious, educational, cultural and teaching questions and questions of personal status. They shall exercise authority in questions where the interests and institutions are of a purely communal nature, such as sporting and charitable foundations, bodies and associations, producers' and consumers' co-operatives and credit establishment, created for the purpose of promoting the welfare of one of the communities. (*N.B.*—It is understood that the provisions of the present paragraph cannot be interpreted in such a way as to prevent the creation of mixed and communal institutions where the inhabitants desire them.)

These producers' and consumers' co-operatives and credit establishments, which shall be administered under the laws of the Republic, shall be subject to the supervision of the Communal Chambers. The Communal Chambers shall also exercise authority in matters initiated by municipalities which are composed of one community only. These municipalities, to which the laws of the Republic shall apply, shall be supervised in their functions by the Communal Chambers.

Where the central administration is obliged to take over the supervision of the institutions, establishments, or municipalities mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs by virtue of legislation in force, this supervision shall be exercised by officials belonging to the same community as the institution, establishment or municipality in question.

11. The Civil Service shall be composed as to 70 per cent. of Greeks and as to 30 per cent. of Turks.

It is understood that this quantitative division will be applied as far as practicable in all grades of the Civil Service.

In regions or localities where one of the two communities is in a majority approaching 100 per cent., the organs of the local administration responsible to the central administration shall be composed solely of officials belonging to that community.

12. The deputies of the Attorney-General of the Republic, the Inspector-General, the Treasurer and the Governor of the Issuing Bank may not belong to the same community as their principals. The holders of these posts shall be appointed by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic acting in agreement.

13. The heads and deputy heads of the Armed Forces, the Gendarmerie and the Police shall be appointed by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic acting in agreement. One of these heads shall be Turkish and where the head belongs to one of the communities, the deputy head shall belong to the other.

14. Compulsory military service may only be instituted with the agreement of the President and the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus.

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Cyprus shall have an army of 2,000 men, of whom 60 per cent. shall be Greek and 40 per cent. Turkish.

The security forces (gendarmerie and police) shall have a complement of 2,000 men, which may be reduced or increased with the agreement of both the President and the Vice-President. The security forces shall be composed as to 70 per cent. of Greeks and as to 30 per cent. of Turks. However, for an initial period this percentage may be raised to a maximum of 40 per cent. of Turks (and consequently reduced to 60 per cent. of Greeks) in order not to discharge those Turks now serving in the police, apart from the auxiliary police.

15. Forces, which are stationed in parts of the territory of the Republic inhabited, in a proportion approaching 100 per cent., by members of a single community, shall belong to that community.

16. A High Court of Justice shall be established, which shall consist of two Greeks, one Turk and one neutral, nominated jointly by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic.

The President of the Court shall be the neutral judge, who shall have two votes.

This Court shall constitute the highest organ of the judicature (appointments, promotions of judges, etc.).

17. Civil disputes, where the plaintiff and the defendant belong to the same community, shall be tried by a tribunal composed of judges belonging to that community. If the plaintiff and defendant belong to different communities, the composition of the tribunal shall be mixed and shall be determined by the High Court of Justice.

Tribunals dealing with civil disputes relating to questions of personal status and to religious matters, which are reserved to the competence of the Communal Chambers under Point 10, shall be composed solely of judges belonging to the community concerned. The composition and status of these tribunals shall be determined according to the law drawn up by the Communal Chamber and they shall apply the law drawn up by the Communal Chamber.

In criminal cases, the tribunal shall consist of judges belonging to the same community as the accused. If the injured party belongs to another community, the composition of the tribunal shall be mixed and shall be determined by the High Court of Justice.

18. The President and the Vice-President of the Republic shall each have the right to exercise the prerogative of mercy to persons from their respective communities who are condemned to death. In cases where the plaintiffs and the convicted persons are members of different communities the prerogative of mercy shall be exercised by agreement between the President and the Vice-President. In the event of disagreement the vote for clemency shall prevail. When mercy is accorded the death penalty shall be commuted to life imprisonment.

19. In the event of agricultural reform, lands shall be redistributed only to persons who are members of the same community as the expropriated owners.

Expropriations by the State or the Municipalities shall only be carried out on payment of a just and equitable indemnity fixed, in disputed cases, by the tribunals. An appeal to the tribunal shall have the effect of suspending action.

Expropriated property shall only be used for the purpose for which the expropriation was made. Otherwise the property shall be restored to the owners.

20. Separate municipalities shall be created in the five largest towns of Cyprus by the Turkish inhabitants of these towns. However :—

(a) In each of the towns a co-ordinating body shall be set up which shall supervise work which needs to be carried out jointly and shall concern itself with matters which require a degree of co-operation. These bodies shall each be composed of two members chosen by the Greek municipalities, two members chosen by the Turkish municipalities and a President chosen by agreement between the two municipalities.

(b) The President and the Vice-President shall examine within four years the question whether or not this separation of municipalities in the five largest towns shall continue.

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With regard to other localities, special arrangements shall be made for the constitution of municipal bodies, following, as far as possible, the rule of proportional representation for the two communities.

21. A Treaty guaranteeing the independence, territorial integrity and constitution of the new State of Cyprus shall be concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey.[2] A Treaty of military alliance shall also be concluded between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.[3]

These two instruments shall have constitutional force. (This last paragraph shall be inserted in the Constitution as a basic article.)

22. It shall be recognised that the total or partial union of Cyprus with any other State, or a separatist independence for Cyprus (*i.e.*, the partition of Cyprus into two independent States), shall be excluded.

23. The Republic of Cyprus shall accord most-favoured-nation treatment to Great Britain, Greece and Turkey for all agreements whatever their nature.

This provision shall not apply to the Treaties between the Republic of Cyprus and the United Kingdom concerning the bases and military facilities accorded to the United Kingdom.[4]

24. The Greek and Turkish Governments shall have the right to subsidize institutions for education, culture, athletics and charity belonging to their respective communities.

Equally, where either community considers that it has not the necessary number of schoolmasters, professors or priests for the working of its institutions, the Greek and Turkish Governments may provide them to the extent strictly necessary to meet their needs.

25. One of the following Ministries—the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Defence or the Ministry of Finance—shall be entrusted to a Turk. If the President and the Vice-President agree they may replace this system by a system of rotation.

26. The new State which is to come into being with the signature of the Treaties shall be established as quickly as possible and within a period of not more than three months from the signature of the Treaties.

27. All the above Points shall be considered to be basic articles of the Constitution of Cyprus.

E. A.-T.[5]
A. M.[8]

S. L.[7]

F. R. Z.[6]
F. K.[9]

ANNEX I

A

The defence questions subject to veto under Point 8 of the Basic Structure are as follows:—

(a) Composition and size of the armed forces and credits for them.
(b) Appointments and promotions.
(c) Imports of warlike stores and of all kinds of explosives.
(d) Granting of bases and other facilities to allied countries.

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[2] See annex (b), below.
[3] See annex (c), below.
[4] See annex (d), below.
[5] Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs.
[6] Fatin Rustu Zorlu, Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs.
[7] Selwyn Lloyd, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
[8] Makarios III (Michael Mouskos), Archbishop and Ethnarch of Cyprus, head of the Greek-Cypriot community.
[9] Fazil Kutchuk, head of the Turkish-Cypriot community.

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B

The security questions subject to veto are as follows:—

(a) Appointments and promotions.
(b) Allocation and stationing of forces.
(c) Emergency measures and martial law.
(d) Police laws.

(It is provided that the right of veto shall cover all emergency measures or decisions, but not those which concern the normal functioning of the police and gendarmerie.)

(b)

Treaty of Guarantee[10]

The Republic of Cyprus of the one part, and Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey of the other part:—

I. Considering that the recognition and maintenance of the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, as established and regulated by the basic articles of its Constitution, are in their common interest;

II. Desiring to co-operate to ensure that the provisions of the aforesaid Constitution shall be respected;

HAVE AGREED AS FOLLOWS:—

ARTICLE 1

The Republic of Cyprus undertakes to ensure the maintenance of its independence, territorial integrity and security, as well as respect for its Constitution.

It undertakes not to participate, in whole or in part, in any political or economic union with any State whatsover. With this intent it prohibits all activity tending to promote directly or indirectly either union or partition of the Island.

ARTICLE 2

Greece, the United Kingdom and Turkey, taking note of the undertakings by the Republic of Cyprus embodied in Article 1, recognise and guarantee the independence, territorial integrity and security of the Republic of Cyprus, and also the provisions of the basic articles of its Constitution.

They likewise undertake to prohibit, as far as lies within their power, all activity having the object of promoting directly or indirectly either the union of the Republic of Cyprus with any other State, or the partition of the Island.

ARTICLE 3

In the event of any breach of the provisions of the present Treaty, Greece, the United Kingdom, and Turkey undertake to consult together, with a view to making representations, or taking the necessary steps to ensure observance of those provisions.

In so far as common or concerted action may prove impossible, each of the three guaranteeing Powers reserves the right to take action with the sole aim of re-establishing the state of affairs established by the present treaty.

ARTICLE 4

The present Treaty shall enter into force on signature.

The High Contracting Parties undertake to register the present Treaty at the earliest possible date with the Secretariat of the United Nations, in accordance with the provisions of Article 102 of the Charter.

[*Same initials as affixed to the Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus*]

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[10] For the final text of the treaty, signed Aug. 15, 1960, see Cmnd. 1093. pp. 86–87.

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(c)

Treaty of Alliance between the Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey [11]

1. The Republic of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey shall co-operate for their common defence and undertake in this Treaty to consult together on the problems raised by this defence.

2. The High Contracting Parties undertake to resist any attack or aggression, direct or indirect, directed against the independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

3. In the spirit of this alliance and in order to fulfil the above purpose a tripartite Headquarters shall be established on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus.

4. Greece shall take part in the Headquarters mentioned in the preceding article with a contingent of 950 officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers and Turkey with a contingent of 650 officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers. The President and the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus, acting in agreement, may ask the Greek and Turkish Governments to increase or reduce the Greek and Turkish contingents.

5. The Greek and Turkish officers mentioned above shall be responsible for the training of the Army of the Republic of Cyprus.

6. The command of the tripartite Headquarters shall be assumed in rotation and for a period of one year each by a Cypriot, Greek and Turkish General officer, who shall be nominated by the Governments of Greece and Turkey and by the President and the Vice-President of the Republic of Cyprus.

[*Same initials as affixed to the Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus*]

(d)

Declaration by the Government of the United Kingdom
[Made on February 17, 1959]

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, having examined the documents concerning the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, comprising the Basic Structure for the Republic of Cyprus, the Treaty of Guarantee and the Treaty of Alliance, drawn up and approved by the Heads of Governments of Greece and Turkey in Zürich on February 11, 1959, and taking into account the consultations in London, from February 11 to 16, 1959, between the Foreign Ministers of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom Declare :—

A. That, subject to the acceptance of their requirements as set out in Section B below, they accept the documents approved by the Heads of the Governments of Greece and Turkey as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

B. That, with the exception of two areas at

(a) Akrotiri—Episkopi—Paramali, and
(b) Dhekelia—Pergamos—Ayios Nikolaos—Xylophagou, which will be retained under full British sovereignty, they are willing to transfer sovereignty over the Island of Cyprus to the Republic of Cyprus subject to the following conditions :—

(1) that such rights are secured to the United Kingdom Government as are necessary to enable the two areas as aforesaid to be used effectively as military bases, including among others those rights indicated in the Annex attached, and that satisfactory guarantees are given by Greece, Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus for the integrity of the areas retained under British sovereignty and the use and enjoyment by the United Kingdom of the rights referred to above ;

(2) that provision shall be made by agreement for :—

(i) the protection of the fundamental human rights of the various communities in Cyprus ;

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[11] For the final text of the treaty, signed Aug. 15, 1960, see *ibid.*, pp. 88–90.

(ii) the protection of the interests of the members of the public services in Cyprus;
(iii) determining the nationality of persons affected by the settlement;
(iv) the assumption by the Republic of Cyprus of the appropriate obligations of the present Government of Cyprus, including the settlement of claims.

C. That the Government of the United Kingdom welcome the draft Treaty of Alliance between the Republic of Cyprus, the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey and will co-operate with the Parties thereto in the common defence of Cyprus.

D. That the Constitution of the Republic of Cyprus shall come into force and the formal signature of the necessary instruments by the parties concerned shall take place at the earliest practicable date and on that date sovereignty will be transferred to the Republic of Cyprus.

SELWYN LLOYD.
ALAN LENNOX-BOYD.

E. A.-T.[12]
A. M.[14]

F. R. Z.[13]
F. K.[15]

ANNEX

The following rights will be necessary in connexion with the areas to be retained under British sovereignty:—

(a) to continue to use, without restriction or interference, the existing small sites containing military and other installations and to exercise complete control within these sites, including the right to guard and defend them and to exclude from them all persons not authorised by the United Kingdom Government;
(b) to use roads, ports and other facilities freely for the movement of personnel and stores of all kinds to and from and between the above-mentioned areas and sites;
(c) to continue to have the use of specified port facilities at Famagusta;
(d) to use public services (such as water, telephone, telegraph, electric power, etc.);
(e) to use from time to time certain localities, which would be specified, for troop training;
(f) to use the airfield at Nicosia, together with any necessary buildings and facilities on or connected with the airfield to whatever extent is considered necessary by the British authorities for the operation of British military aircraft in peace and war, including the exercise of any necessary operational control of air traffic;
(g) to overfly the territory of the Republic of Cyprus without restriction;
(h) to exercise jurisdiction over British forces to an extent comparable with that provided in Article VII of the Agreement regarding the Status of Forces of Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty,[16] in respect of certain offences committed within the territory of the Republic of Cyprus;
(i) to employ freely in the areas and sites labour from other parts of Cyprus;
(j) to obtain, after consultation with the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, the use of such additional small sites and such additional rights as the United Kingdom may, from time to time, consider technically necessary for the efficient use of its base areas and installations in Cyprus.

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[12] See footnote 5, above.
[13] See footnote 6, above.
[14] See footnote 8, above.
[15] See footnote 9, above.
[16] Text in *American Foreign Policy, 1950–1955: Basic Documents*, pp. 1529–1544.

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(e)

Additional Article to be Inserted in the Treaty of Guarantee

The Kingdom of Greece, the Republic of Turkey and the Republic of Cyprus undertake to respect the integrity of the areas to be retained under the sovereignty of the United Kingdom upon the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus, and guarantee the use and enjoyment by the United Kingdom of the rights to be secured to the United Kingdom by the Republic of Cyprus in accordance with the declaration by the Government of the United Kingdom.

[*Same initials as affixed to the Basic Structure of the Republic of Cyprus*]

(f)

Declaration Made by the Greek and Turkish Foreign Ministers on February 17, 1959

The Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey, having considered the declaration made by the Government of the United Kingdom on February 17, 1959, accept that declaration, together with the document approved by the Heads of the Greek and Turkish Governments in Zurich on February 11, 1959, as providing the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

E. AVEROFF-TOSSIZZA FATIN R. ZORLU

S. L.

A. M. F. K.

(g)

Declaration Made by the Representative of the Greek-Cypriot Community on February 19, 1959

Archbishop Makarios, representing the Greek Cypriot Community, having examined the documents concerning the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus drawn up and approved by the Heads of the Governments of Greece and Turkey in Zurich on February 11, 1959, and the declarations made by the Government of the United Kingdom, and by the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey on February 17, 1959, declares that he accepts the documents and declarations as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS.

S. L. F. R. Z.

E. A.-T.
F. K.

(h)

Declaration Made by the Representative of the Turkish-Cypriot Community on February 19, 1959

Dr. Kutchuk, representing the Turkish Cypriot Community, having examined the documents concerning the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus drawn up and approved by the Heads of the Governments of Greece and Turkey in Zurich on February 11, 1959, and the declarations made by the Government of the United Kingdom, and by the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey on February 17, 1959, declares that he accepts the documents and declarations as the agreed foundation for the final settlement of the problem of Cyprus.

F. KUTCHUK.

S. L. E. A.-T. F. R. Z.
A. M.

Doc. 247.

(i)

Agreed Measures to Prepare for the New Arrangements in Cyprus

1. All parties to the Conference firmly endorse the aim of bringing the constitution (including the elections of President, Vice-President, and the three Assemblies) and the Treaties into full effect as soon as practicable and in any case not later than twelve months from to-day's date (the 19th of February, 1959). Measures leading to the transfer of sovereignty in Cyprus will begin at once.

2. The first of these measures will be the immediate establishment of:—

(a) a Joint Commission in Cyprus with the duty of completing a draft constitution for the independent Republic of Cyprus, incorporating the basic structure agreed at the Zurich Conference.[17] This Commission shall be composed of one representative each of the Greek-Cypriot and the Turkish-Cypriot community and one representative nominated by the Government of Greece and one representative nominated by the Government of Turkey, together with a legal adviser nominated by the Foreign Ministers of Greece and Turkey,[18] and shall in its work have regard to and shall scrupulously observe the points contained in the documents of the Zurich Conference and shall fulfil its task in accordance with the principles there laid down;

(b) a Transitional Committee in Cyprus, with responsibility for drawing up plans for adapting and reorganising the Governmental machinery in Cyprus in preparation for the transfer of authority to the independent Republic of Cyprus. This Committee shall be composed of the Governor of Cyprus, the leading representative of the Greek community and the leading representative of the Turkish community and other Greek and Turkish Cypriots nominated by the Governor after consultation with the two leading representatives in such a way as not to conflict with paragraph 5 of the Basic Structure;[19]

(c) a Joint Committee in London composed of a representative of each of the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, and one representative each of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities,[20] with the duty of preparing the final treaties giving effect to the

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[17] The Joint Commission met at Nicosia intermittently from Apr. 13, 1959, to Apr. 6, 1960. On this latter date, the Commission gave its final approval to the Constitution (text in Cmnd. 1093, pp. 91–173) which entered into force Aug. 16, 1960, with the proclamation of the Republic of Cyprus.

[18] The following were appointed to the Joint Commission: Themistocles Tsatsos (Greece), Nihat Erim (Turkey), Glafkos Clerides (Greek-Cypriot) Rauf Raif Denktash (Turkish-Cypriot), and Marcel Bridel (legal adviser).

[19] The Transitional Committee established Mar. 27, 1959, with agreement reached on the composition of the Provisional Government, consisted of the following: Sir Hugh Foot (Governor of Cyprus), Archbishop Makarios (head of the Greek-Cypriot community and President of the Provisional Government), Fazil Kutchuk (head of the Turkish-Cypriot community and Vice-President of the Provisional Government), Tassos Papadopoulos (Greek-Cypriot Minister of Interior), Glafkos Clerides (Greek-Cypriot Minister of Justice), Righinos Theocharous (Greek-Cypriot Minister of Finance), Antonios Georghiades (Greek-Cypriot Minister of Communications), Paschalis Paschalides (Greek-Cypriot Minister of Commerce and Industry), Polycarpos Georghadjis (Greek-Cypriot Minister of Labor and Social Services), Andreas Azinas (Greek-Cypriot Deputy Minister of Agriculture), Osman Orek (Turkish-Cypriot Minister of Defense), Fazil Plümer (Turkish-Cypriot Minister of Agriculture), Niyazi Manyera (Turkish-Cypriot Minister of Health), and Mehmet Nazim (Turkish-Cypriot Deputy Minister of Finance).

[20] The Joint Committee consisted of the following members: John Profumo (British Minister of State, Foreign Office), Giorgias Seferiades (Greek Ambassador to the U.K.), Nuri Birgi (Turkish Ambassador to the U.K.), Zenon Rossides (of the Greek-Cypriot community), and Osman Orek (of the Turkish-Cypriot community).

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conclusions of the London Conference. This Committee will prepare drafts for submission to Governments covering *inter alia* matters arising from the retention of areas in Cyprus under British sovereignty, the provision to the United Kingdom Government of certain ancillary rights and facilities in the independent Republic of Cyprus, questions of nationality, the treatment of the liabilities of the present Government of Cyprus, and the financial and economic problems arising from the creation of an independent Republic of Cyprus.[21]

3. The Governor will, after consultation with the two leading representatives, invite individual members of the Transitional Committee to assume special responsibilities for particular departments and functions of Government. This process will be started as soon as possible and will be progressively extended.

4. The headquarters mentioned in Article 4 of the Treaty of Alliance between the Republic of Cyprus, the Kingdom of Greece and the Republic of Turkey will be established three months after the completion of the work of the Commission referred to in paragraph 2(a) above and will be composed of a restricted number of officers who will immediately undertake the training of the armed forces of the Republic of Cyprus. The Greek and Turkish contingents will enter the territory of the Republic of Cyprus on the date when the sovereignty will be transferred to the Republic.

S. L. E. A.-T. F. R. Z.

248. UNITED STATES VIEWS ON THE CYPRUS SETTLEMENT: Statement Issued by the Department of State, February 19, 1959 [1]

The United States wholeheartedly welcomes the conclusion of an agreement on the substance of a final settlement of the Cyprus problem.[2]

A mutually satisfactory solution to the Cyprus problem should restore peace to the island of Cyprus and strengthen the ties among the countries and peoples involved.

The solution of this complicated and difficult problem clearly required patience, understanding, and dedicated leadership. With this achievement the leaders of the three Governments concerned and the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities have earned the thanks of the entire free world.

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[21] The Committee met intermittently from Mar. 23, 1959, to July 1, 1960. On this latter date the Committee gave its final approval to the several treaties (texts in Cmnd. 1093) which were formally signed Aug. 15, 1960.

[1] Department of State press release No. 129 (text as printed in the Department of State *Bulletin*, Mar. 16, 1959, pp. 367–368).

On this same date the President addressed messages of congratulation to the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey upon the successful conclusion of the Zürich and London negotiations (texts *ibid.*, p. 368).

[2] *Supra.*

President Johnson Expresses Hope for End of Strife in Cyprus

Following is an exchange of messages between President Johnson and Gen. Cemal Gursel, President of Turkey.

White House press release (Austin, Tex.) dated December 26

General Gursel to President Johnson

DECEMBER 25, 1963

THE PRESIDENT
White House

In Cyprus unleashed Greek Cypriots terrorists helped by the regular law forces composed of their kinsmen are perpetrating in the execution of a prearranged plan atrocities towards Turks of Cyprus without discrimination for women or children. This barbaric assault which continued with ever-increasing intensity on the Turkish community since Friday evening, December 21st, took the dimensions of acts of genocide aiming at the annihilation of the Turkish Cypriots. The appeals made unilaterally by us or jointly undertaken by the signatories of the Cyprus Agreements with a view to stopping this massacre proved of no avail. The latest action by issuing a joint statement by the three guaranteeing powers—Turkey, the United Kingdom, and Greece—has not been heeded by the Greek Cypriots and, therefore, did not bring about a change in the deplorable situation. I wish to bring to your high knowledge these dastardly acts of massacre undertakings by the Turks of Cyprus in this Twentieth Century where human rights and freedoms are enshrined in the most solemn universal documents and ask you most earnestly to do all in your power in order that this bloodshed be stopped forthwith.

CEMAL GURSEL
President of the Republic of Turkey

President Johnson to General Gursel

DECEMBER 26, 1963

DEAR GENERAL GURSEL: I have received your telegram dated December 25 on the tragic events occurring in Cyprus. I, too, am deeply concerned, and have sent the following message to President Makarios and Vice President Kutchuk. This message, I assure you, represents my heartfelt feelings.

You may be sure that I will continue to do everything I can to support any and all actions proposed by the three guarantor powers which offer any reasonable hope of assisting in a peaceful solution.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

DEAR FRIENDS: My Christmas holiday hours, and those of my fellow Americans, are saddened by the thought that Cypriots of both communities whose hands I have pressed less than eighteen months ago are killing and wounding one another. I will not presume to judge the root causes, or rights and wrongs as between Cypriots of the two communities. This is, in any case, inappropriate when innocent human lives are at stake.

I cannot believe that you and your fellow Cypriots will spare any efforts, any sacrifice, to end this terrible fraternal strife. I hope and trust that tomorrow will find all Cypriots living at peace with one another and with the three nations which have special treaty responsibilities for the security of Cyprus.

Sincerely,

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Congressional Documents Relating to Foreign Policy

88th Congress, 1st Session

Report of National Advisory Council on International Monetary and Financial Problems. Special report to the President and to the Congress on increase in the resources of the Inter-American Development Bank. H. Doc. 153. June 10, 1963. 76 pp.

U.S. Participation in the International Labor Organization. Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Part III. Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive. July 8–October 3, 1963. 149 pp.

Winning the Cold War: The U.S. Ideological Offensive. Hearings before the Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. Part IV, U.S. Cultural and Artistic Exchanges, U.S. Student and Leader Exchanges, September 9–10, 1963, 140 pp.; Part V, The Impact Abroad of U.S. Private Information Mass Media, the Impact Abroad of Special Activities of Selected Private U.S. Organizations, the Problems and Techniques of International Communication, September 11–13, 1963, 182 pp.

Operation of Article VII, NATO Status of Forces Treaty. Hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Armed Services. November 26, 1963. 21 pp.

TIMES
2/9/64

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
SEP 2 1964

U.S. SPURS DRIVE TO FIND SOLUTION IN CYPRUS CRISIS

Ball Confers With Britons and Cypriote in London, Then Flies to Athens

CHANCES TERMED SLIM

Turks Accept Plan for U.N. Link to a Peace Force but Attach Other Conditions

By SYDNEY GRUSON
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 9 — The United States took the initiative today in seeking a solution to the tangled and threatening Cyprus problem.

George W. Ball, United States Under Secretary of State, spent almost the entire day in conference with British officials. He also saw Spyros Kyprianou, Foreign Minister of Cyprus.

Mr. Ball arrived here by plane at 11 A.M. By 9 o'clock tonight he was in the air again, bound for Athens and a meeting there with the United States Ambassadors to Greece, Turkey and Cyprus.

From Athens he was scheduled to go to Ankara, and from there possibly to Nicosia.

Outcome in Doubt

Officials said it was still too early to determine whether Mr. Ball could get an agreement for an international force to keep the peace between the feuding Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus.

His chances were considered slim. Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus and leader of the majority Greek community, was apparently still insisting that any international force be made responsible to the United Nations Security Council.

[In Ankara, Turkish officials accepted a United States-British proposal that the United Nations have a link with the peace-keeping operation but no voice in it.]

Gravity Is Stressed

The gravity of the situation was underlined by Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Britain's Prime Minister, before he left by air this morning for Ottawa. Sir Alec will confer with Canadian leaders for two days before going to Washington for talks with President Johnson.

The Cyprus problem, it seemed clear, will occupy much of the attention in both Ottawa and Washington. The Canadians are reported to favor the international force.

"One of my first tasks will be to make sure British and American policies in all the theaters of the world are harmonizing and that we are pulling together," Sir Alec said.

Asked about the possibility of an international force with links to the Security Council, Sir Alec replied:

"That is a lot more difficult for us and for other countries as well. It would mean that Russia could veto and interfere in a number of ways."

This is a factor in the United States' in rejection of United Nations control of the force.

Washington also apparently believes that the weight of United Nations opinion would be against Turkey's right to

Continued on Page 7, Column 1

U.S. PRESSES DRIVE FOR CYPRUS PEACE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

intervene in Cyprus, no matter what happened on the island after an international force was introduced.

American officials are determined not to be put in the posit ionof supporting either Greece or Turkey against the other, since both are allies of the United States in the North Atlantic alliance.

Mr. Ball was reported to have assured Mr. Kyprianou that the United States would not seek to impose any solution against the will of the Cyprus Government.

The United States and Britain have modified their original proposal to provide for a link between the international force and the United Nations. The United Nations would receive reports on the force but would have no voice in the peace-keeping operation.

Originally the plan called for a 10,000-man force to be drawn from major NATO powers. Now it would include European troops from outside the alliance as well.

To meet other objections by the Cyprus Government, the agreed that Greek and Turkish troops now on the island United States and Britain have should not be used in the operations of the international force. They have also agreed that a representative of the Cyprus Government could sit with the political committee that would advise the British commander.

Greece has accepted the modified proposal provided the Greek Cypriotes do so. Turkey's heavily conditioned acceptance was received here tonight. The Turkish conditions now must be put to the Greeks and, if they agree, to the Cyprus Government.

TIMES
2/11/64

NEW CYPRUS PLAN DRAFTED BY WEST

U.S.-British Proposal Omits NATO Issue on Troops

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 10—The United States and Britain have prepared another proposal to put an international peace-keeping force in Cyprus, according to reliable sources. The plan was rejected by the Cypriote Foreign Minister.

The new proposal is longer and more detailed than previous plans put forward by the two nations to restore calm in the embattled island republic.

The main point of difference in the new proposal is that it has dropped all reference to the original aim of drawing troops to Cyprus from the United States and as many other member nations as possible in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

As the new proposal stood tonight, it would leave open completely to agreement with the Cyprus Government the question of which nations would contribute to the peace-keeping force.

Duncan Sandy's, Britain's Commonwealth Relations Secretary, gave the gist of the plan to Spyros Kyprianou, the Foreign Minister of Cyprus, in an hour-long meeting tonight.

It was rejected outright by Mr. Kyprianou on the same main ground the previous proposals could not be accepted: the peace-keeping force would not be answerable to the United

Continued on Page 8, Column 3

HOW'S YOUR HEART DOING?
Read an illuminating [illegible]
the [illegible]

NEW CYPRUS PLAN DRAFTED BY WE[illegible]

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1

Nations Security Council.

The Cypriote Foreign Minister made arrangements to leave for Nicosia tomorrow morning, to be there when George W. Ball, United States Under Secretary of State, formally hands the proposal to President Makarios.

By present plans, the United States diplomat expects to be in Cyprus to do this late tomorrow night or Wednesday morning. Arrangements have been made for Cyril Pickard, Acting British High Commissioner in Cyprus, to go with Mr. Ball to make the presentation to Archbishop Makarios jointly.

Mr. Ball was in Athens today and was expected to be in Ankara tomorrow, to win the acceptance of the Greek and Turkish Governments to details of the British-United States proposal.

Right to Intervene

Greece and Turkey share with Britain a treaty right to intervene in the former British colony to maintain the status quo.

British troops have been patrolling the island and holding a thin neutral zone in Nicosia between the warring Greek and Turkish communities there since the bloody battles of Christmas week.

With a steady deterioration of the situation in Cyprus, Turkey threatening to land troop to safeguard the Turkish minority there and Greece threatening to go to war with Turkey if she moves toward Cyprus, the United States has seized the diplomatic initiative in trying to find a way to avert disaster.

As Mr. Sandys outlined the new proposal to Mr. Kyprianou tonight, the peace-keeping force would still be under British command and would not go beyond establishing a "link" with the Security Council.

Mr. Kyprianou made clear that his Government could not accept any additional foreign troops in Cyprus unless they were made answerable to the Security Council. The Western powers have not wanted this because it would give the Soviet Union a veto on the peace-keeping machinery.

Mr. Sandys did not go further into details with Mr. Kyprianou about the proposed link with the Security Council, but it is believed the United States and Britain are prepared to have the force set up after a discussion of it in the world body.

There would be no formal resolution, but a declaration by the President of the Council that there was a consensus of support for the peace-keeping force. If Cyprus were to agree the Soviet Union could hardly object.

But Cyprus is holding out for real control by the Security Council, and the deadlock at the moment hinges on the difference between this and some formula that offers appeal or reference to the Security Council instead.

Ball Confers in Athens

Special to The New York Times

ATHENS, Feb. 10 — Under Secretary of State George W. Ball informed Greece tonight that the United States was determined to see peace kept between Greece and Turkey despite the Cyprus crisis.

Mr. Ball intends to convey the same message, which came from President Johnson, to the Turkish Government in Ankara tomorrow. He said he had no plan to go to Cyprus.

An informed source said the fact that the State Department sent Mr. Ball showed the United States wanted to emphasize its interest in a Cyprus settlement "and to se that Greece and Turkey should not allow the Cyprus crisis to lead them to conflict."

Anti-Western Slogans

As Mr. Ball ended a long day of conferences, thousands of Athenians demonstrated in the square before the city hall to demand "justice for Cyprus."

Mayor Angelo Tsoukalas addressed the rally, which was marked by anti-Western sentiment and slogans. Groups of demonstrators also paraded before the strongly guarded U.S. Embassy on their way to the rally.

Mr. Ball had a long conference today with three United States ambassadors, Henry R. Labouisse, the envoy to Athens, Raymond A. Hare, Ankara, and Fraser Wilkins, Nicosia.

Later he conferred for more than an hour with Christos Xanthopoulous-Palamas, the Greek Foreign Minister. He said afterward, "We had a very useful conversation on all aspects of the Cyprus problem."

The United States Embassy declined to comment on Mr. Ball's visit beyond saying that it was a trip of "familiarization" to give Mr. Ball first-hand accounts of the crisis.

Official Greek sources said the Greek Government had not been notified of the visit. They thought Mr. Ball was making the trip so that he could brief President Johnson on the situation before the President met Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home in Washington this week.

In his talks with the Greeks, Mr. Ball seemed particularly concerned about the recent upsurge of anti-American feeling in Cyprus among the Greek Cypriotes.

Butler to Meet Thant

By THOMAS J. HAMILTON

Special to The New York Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., Feb. 10—R. A. Butler, British Foreign Secretary, will discuss

the United Nations role in the Cyprus dispute with the Secretary General, U Thant, tomorrow.

A United Nations spokesman said that Mr. Butler would arrive tomorrow afternoon from Ottawa. Mr. Butler will be Mr. Thant's guest tomorrow night at a "working dinner" and will join the Prime MinisterinWashington Wednesday for conferences with President Johnson.

The question of holding another Security Council debate on Cyprus remained in abeyance pending the outcome of discussions between Under Secretary Ball with Greek and Turkish officials.

Zenon Rossides, the Cypriote representative, said he had no instructions to request a meeting for today or tomorrow. Mr. Rossides, who is also Ambassador to the United States, will be in Washington Wednesday to attend a luncheon given by President Johnson for the British Prime Minister.

Mr. Butler's talks with Mr. Thant are expected to clear up what Britain has in mind regarding a "link" between the proposed 10,000-man force to be sent to Cyprus and thr Security Council. The Council has not considered the Cyprus question since it held one meeting on Dec. 27.

According to British sources, President Makarios said there must be a "link" with the Security Council in his reply last week to the British proposal that members of the North Atlantic alliance supply the contingents of the proposed force. Mr. Rossides said today that the archbishop had used the phrase, "accountable to the Security Council."

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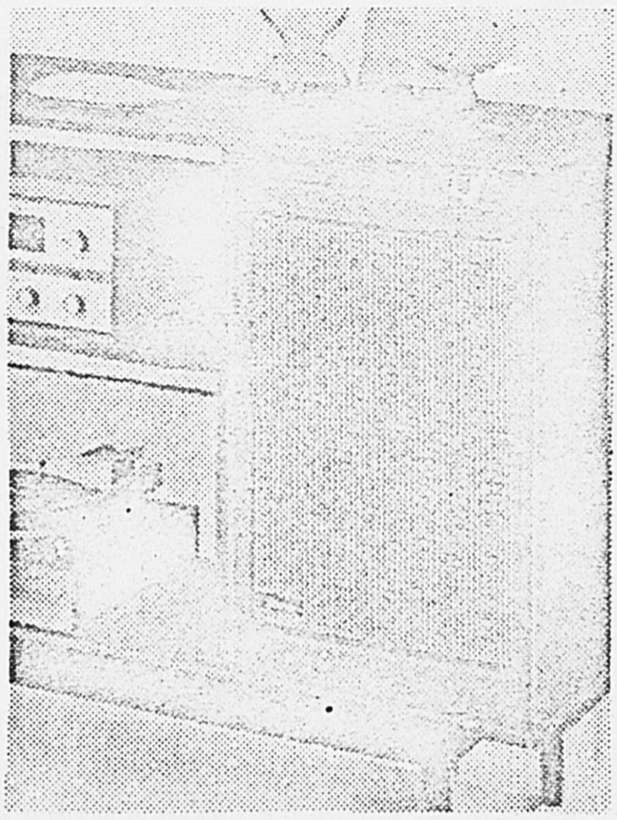

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TIMES
2/13/64

Talks Near Collapse

Special to The New York Times

NICOSIA, Cyprus, Feb. 13— Diplomatic talks on the revised United States-British peace proposals for Cyprus appeared to be on the verge of collapse tonight.

The determination of the Western sponsors to make one last effort to salvage their proposals was evident in the decision of George W. Ball, the United States Under Secretary of State, to remain in Cyprus another day.

Another meeting, the fifth, was scheduled to be held tomorrow morning between Mr Ball

Continued on Page 2, Column 2

CYPRUS MEETING IS NEAR COLLAPSE

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

and Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus, to try to dissuade the Cypriote leader from taking the issue to the United Nations Security Council.

The fighting today in Limassoal added a note of urgency to the diplomatic negotiations between the American-British team and the Archbishop and his advisers.

However, it did not seem to contribute to any substantial changes in the political positions of the two sides, which have been reviewing the complex aspects of the proposals since Mr Ball's arrival here yesterday.

Western officials would not discuss the negotiations on the ground that the talks were still in progress. Nevertheless it was apparent that little headway had been made during the four hours that Mr. Ball spent with Archbishop Makarios yesterday and the two hours they spent together today.

One Western informant spoke of "a glimmer" of hope. But the main Western concern seemed to be that of exhausting every possible avenue of approach to get the Archbishop to change his mind.

"We have used a lot of arguments and we are using them again," the source declared. "We are trying to find out if anything at all is possible."

Highly placed Greek Cypriote sources indicated that the gap between the two sides was too large to bre. bridged. These sources suggested that the demand for a guarantee against intervention and the terms of reference ffor the proposed augmented iinternational force were major obbstacles in the conversations.

The Greek Cypriote desire for an explicit guarantee against outside intervention with no real time llimit is directed against a threat from Turkey, which has a ttreaty right to intervene unilatterally on the island to preserve the status quo. A three-month suspension of the right is envisaged in the Western proposals. It is not sufficient for thee Greek Cypriotes.

As for the tterms of reference for the porposed peace force, The Greek Cypriotes want the force to help work for communal unity ratther than to stand between the ttwo factions while a mediator tries to settle the political dispute. The Turkish Cypriotes do not want unity and would opposee any force that sought unity as part of its mission.

Makarioss Rejects Plan

NICOSIA, Feb. 13 (UPI)—President Malkarios formally rejected tonight a revised United States-British proposal to send a peacekeeping force to Cyprus.

The President also announced he planned to take the Cyprus question before the United Nations Security Council.

Speaking of his discussions with the British and American negotiatiors, he said:

"I appreciatte their intentions. But I disagree with the proposed procedure. We have different views. If these proposals were accepted the situation would be more complicated."

Asked what he saw as the next step in the diplomatic situation, Archbishop Makarios said:

"We plan to go to the Security Council and ask for a resolution condemning any attempt at aggression against our country and referring to the territorial integrity of our republic."

The President insisted that the composition of the peace force and its terms of reference would have to be agreed upon ahead of time.

"When this is agreed upon, then we can discuss whether the force will be under full control of the Security Council or just linked with it."

TIMES
2/17/64

U.S. AND BRITAIN DRAFT NEW PLANS FOR CYPRUS PEACE

Ball and Officials in London Agree to Isolate Makarios With Diplomatic Effort

RESOLUTION IS DRAFTED

U.N. Will Be Asked to Back International Peace Force and Neutral Mediator

By LAWRENCE FELLOWS
Special to The New York Times

LONDON, Feb. 16 — The lines of a two-pronged approach to the Cyprus problem by London and Washington emerged today from talks between British officials and the American Under Secretary of State, George W. Ball.

First, according to diplomatic sources, there will be an effort to achieve, as completely as possible, the diplomatic isolation of Archbishop Makarios, the Cypriote President.

The second objective, taking shape on the horizon, is an attempt to end the island's communal fighting by administrative partition between the Greek and Turkish Cypriote factions, these sources said.

Britain Drafts Resolution

The first diplomatic step was taken last night when Britain, with the support of the United States, called for an early meeting of the United Nations Security Council "to consider the urgent problems raised by the deterioration of security in Cyprus."

Tonight final touches were put on a resoltuion that Britain plans to introduce in the Security Council tomorrow. It calls for a mandate to establish a peace-keeping force in Cyprus, and for the appointment of a neutral mediator to settle the quarrel between the communities.

[In Nicosia, President Makarios addressed Cyprus by radio for the first time since the fighting erupted Christmas week. He said internal anarchy and foreign intervention posed grave threats.]

Ball Voices Gratitude

Mr. Ball left for N[illegible]ork today after conferring with Foreign Secretary R. A. Butler. On his departure, he stressed that Washington and London were in complete accord on the Cyprus question.

The Under Secretary also praised the British troops who have been guarding the tenuous peace in Cyprus.

As he spoke, the Ministry of Defense prepared to establish intermediate military headquarters in several parts of Cyprus to permit quicker responses to local outbreaks of violence.

A further squadron of Life Guards prepared to leave for Cyprus to build up the force trained and equipped to use armored patrol cars.

In planning the Security Council action, London aimed to block an attempt hy Archbishop Makarios to bring about a vote on a resolution of his own, which the United States and Britain regard as dangerous on several counts.

Within a few days Washington and London hope to move toward persuading the Greek ND Turkish Governments to support a compromise solution

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ALLIES WILL SEEK CYPRUS PARTITION

Continued From Page 1, Col. 8

of the political problems of Cyprus.

The United States has been receptive to any ideas for a solution on some middle political ground. It is reported to favor a form of administrative partition on the pattern of the cantons in Switzerland.

Switzerland's 22 cantons, or states, allow a measure of home rule for the German-speaking, French-speaking and Italian-speaking ethnic groups under a federal government.

This is regarded less as a departure in American policy than as the raising of an idea that never had a chance to be presented in talks with the immediate task of restoring order.

The United States is described as not wedded to the idea, but sees it as a basis for discussion.

The new British-American approach was developed last week after Mr. Ball failed to persuade Archbishop Makarios to accept proposals backed by the United States, Britain, Greece and Turkey to station an international peace-keeping force in Cyprus.

Both Sides Adamant

The Archbishop has held out for a force that would be answerable to the Security Council and not merely sanctioned by the United Nations.

Mr. Ball, who flew to Ankara from his talks with the Archbishop, was convinced that Turkish leaders were open to any compromise that would give the Turkish minority in Cyprus real security of life and property. The Turkish Cypriotes are outnumbered 4 to 1 by the Greek Cypriotes.

Mr. Ball also went to Athens yesterday, but the general election in Greece today has made it difficult for any party to climb down publicly from an adamant position in support of the Greek Cypriotes.

Since the fighting started, Turkey has been indicating that she would land troops on the Island to protect the Turkish community. Greece has kept troops ready to attack Turkey if she made a move toward Cyprus.

Associated Press Cablephoto

WEAPONS OF WAR: Turkish Cypriotes in Famagusta display firearms they allege were transported to Cyprus aboard Greek ship in cases labeled printing equipment. The Turkish Cypriotes said that they were discovered as the ship was being unloaded.

Allies Defend '60 Pact

Archbishop makarios would like the Security Council to vote on a resolution demanding that the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus be respected, and that no aggression be tolerated.

By this, the Archbishop would hope to nullify the 1960 treaty under which Britain, Greece or Turkey may intervene in Cyprus to preserve her independence.

The United States and Britain fear that such a resolution could drive the Turks to land troops in Cyprus. The British resolution was put to the Security Council to deflect discussion along less imflammatory lines.

The United States and Britain are prepared, if Archbishop Makario's's resolution comes to discussion, to insist that they will not be a party to the tool to destroy treaties.

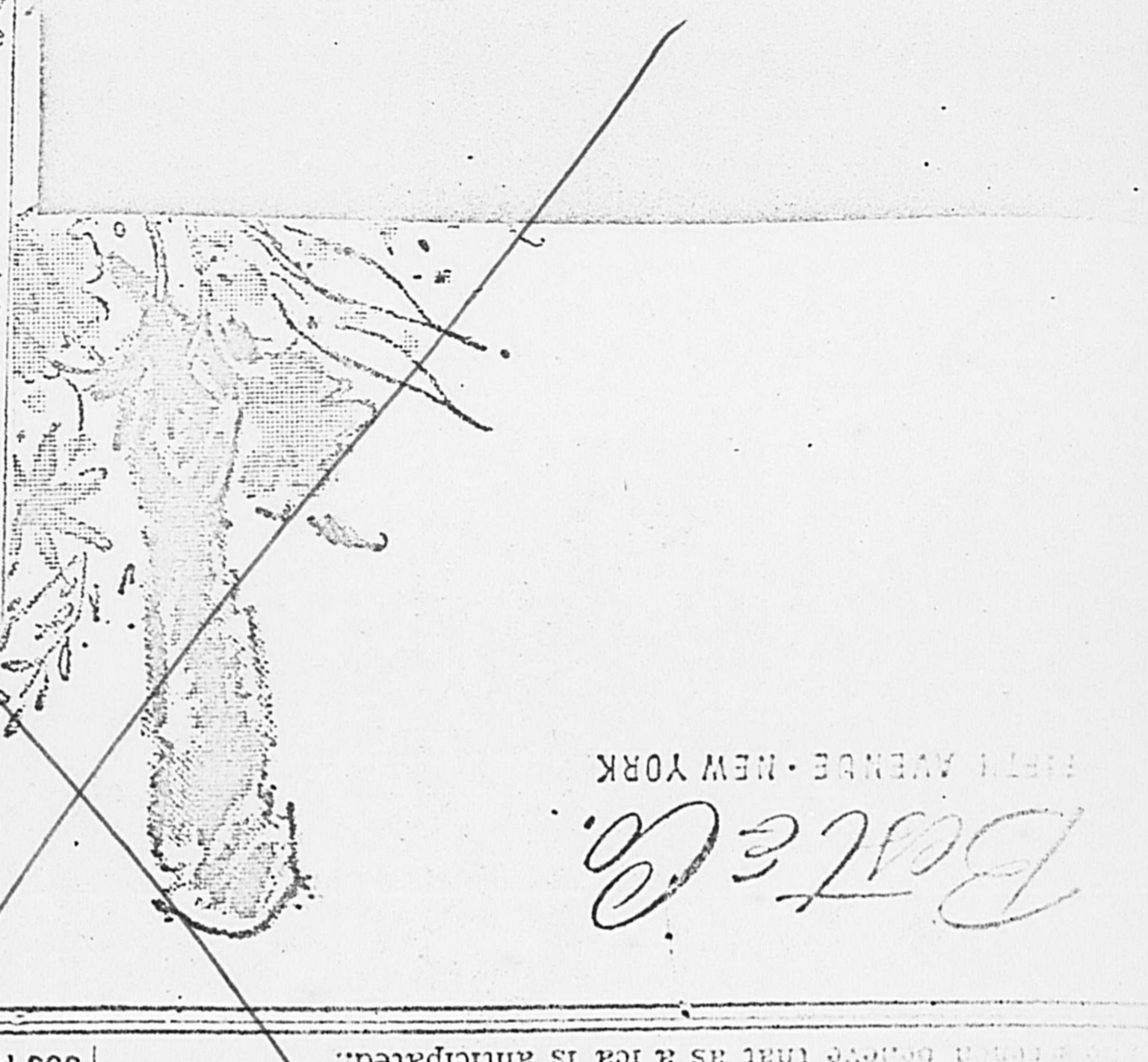
Makarios Warns of Peril

By W. GRANGER BLAIR

Special to The New York Times

NICOSIA, Cyprus, Feb. 16—Archbishop Makarios, in a radio address to his embattled republic, warned tonight that "the island's territorial integrity security and peace are under serious threat."

In a dry, unemotional broadcast, the President asserted that the state faced "two great dangers—the danger of foreign intervention and the danger of resumption of intern[illegible] ...ces on a larg[illegible]



Boutcher

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result of the talks they have reestablished balance with West Germany in the political and economic fields.

Diplomats believe General de Gaulle successfully presented the attractions of European cooperation to Dr. Erhard despite the impression made on the Chancellor by President Johnson last month.

With the Gaullist base firmly re-established in Europe, an early intensification of French political and economic activity in Asia, Africa and Latin Amer-

ica is anticipated.

French Confidence Noted

indicated in speech reflects Government circles Monday conference President de his ministers and a ministerial dele- by Chancellor

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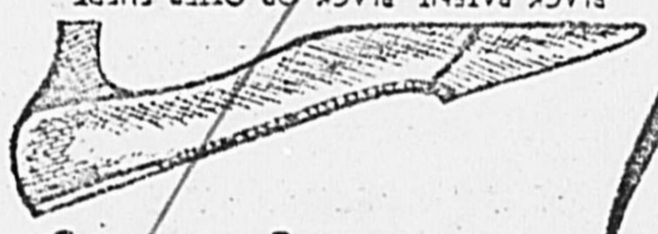

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TIMES
2/18/64

U.S. CALLS ACTION ON CYPRUS VITAL

Ball, After Reporting on Trip, Says Johnson Agrees Peace Is 'Imperative'

By TOM WICKER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17— Under Secretary of State George W. Ball said today that he and President Johnson had agreed that a settlement in Cyprus was "essential to the peace of the world."

Mr. Ball, just back from an eight-day trip to Britain, Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, reported to the President on the failure of his efforts to get agreement on a United States-British peace-keeping force for the island.

The Under Secretary said later that Mr. Johnson "fully shared" his view that in Cyprus "we are faced with a situation of considerable gravity."

There was agreement also, Mr. Ball said, that it was "imperative that we take the necessary measures to restore peace and order" between the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes.

Imposing of Terms Barred

The killing that is going on on that tormented island must be brought to a stop," Mr. Ball added. He called the restoration of law and order "the first order of business."

Nevertheless, the Under Secretary said that the United States' "interest in this business is not to impose or to dictate or even to suggest a final solution."

Rather, he said, it was "to help bring about the conditions under which all of the parties affected can design a solution which will serve all of their interests and the interests of the world."

Such conditions, Mr. Ball said, were "essential to the peace of the world."

Thus, the Under Secretary made it clear how strongly the United States believed the sit-

Continued on Page 4, Column 6

U.S. CALLS ACTION ON CYPRUS VITAL

Continued From Page 1, Col. 2

uation in Cyprus to be one with broad ramifications for the world situation, rather than one that affected only those countries primarily concerned—Greece, Turkey, Cyprus and Britain. The island formerly was a British colony.

Administration sources insist that the United States favors no particular solution to the Cyprus problem. The Greeks favor a revised republican government giving the Greek minority increased power. Turkey wants the island partitioned between the two elements of its population.

Need of Order Stressed

Mr. Ball called only for the working out of a situation of order in which a final settlement could be devised. Archbishop Makarios, the President of Cyprus, has refused to assent to the proposal for a British-United States peace-keeping force.

Both Britain and the United States, as a result, asked today for action by the United Nations Security Council. Sources here said the two nations hoped that a peace-keeping force from nonaligned nations might be authorized.

The sources also said Mr. Ball's mission had achieved at least one objective—holding off a possible Turkish decision to send more Turkish troops into Cyprus to protct the Turkish minority there.

Such a move would have increased the possibility of war on the Cyprus issue between Turkey and Greece. This would not only imperil the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, of which both are members; it might also cause the Soviet Union to take unwelcome action. Turkey borders on the Soviet Union.

U. S. and Turkey in Pledge

Special to The New York Times

ANKARA, Turkey, Feb. 17—The United States and Turkey exchanged new assurances today that each country would do everything possible to maintain a peaceful status quo on Cyprus issues pending the outcome of negotiations before the United Nations.

The United States assurances were delivered to the Foreign Ministry by Ambassador Raymond A. Hare. In a talk with Fuat Byarmagolu, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Hare was said to have made clear that the United States would back Turkey's rights under the 1960 Cyprus agreements.

Turkey with Greece and Britain, are guarantors of the treaty that established the island republic. President Makarios wants to elminate the right of the guarantor powers to intervene in behalf of either the Turkish or Greek communities.

Herald

MARCH 7, 1964

POST
3/7/64

LBJ Sets K Straight On Cyprus

In Note to Moscow, He Says Premier Erred on U.S. Aims

By Edward T. Folliard
Staff Reporter

President Johnson, in a letter to Premier Khrushchev, has told the Soviet leader that he has been "seriously mistaken" about the aims of the United States in the Cyprus crisis.

Khrushchev charged Feb. 7 that certain powers were planning to end the bloody strife in Cyprus by an "armed invasion" and intended to put the little island republic "under NATO's military control."

The Premier made his charges in letters sent to the United States, Britain, France, Greece and Turkey.

Makarios orders release of Turkish Cypriot hostages. Page A10.

At the time, the United States and Britain were considering the recruitment of an army of 10,000 troops from members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to keep the peace in Cyprus.

Khrushchev suggested that the trouble in Cyprus be handled by the United Nations Security Council and Cyprus itself. This is the course that has been taken.

LBJ Said to Be Irked

President Johnson evidently resented Premier Khrushchev's remarks about the purpose of United States efforts on Cyprus — his statement that the United States and other Western powers seemed to think that the problem could only be solved with "foreign bayonets." Also irksome to the U.S. was his statement that the West wanted to encroach on the independence of Cyprus and put it under NATO military rule.

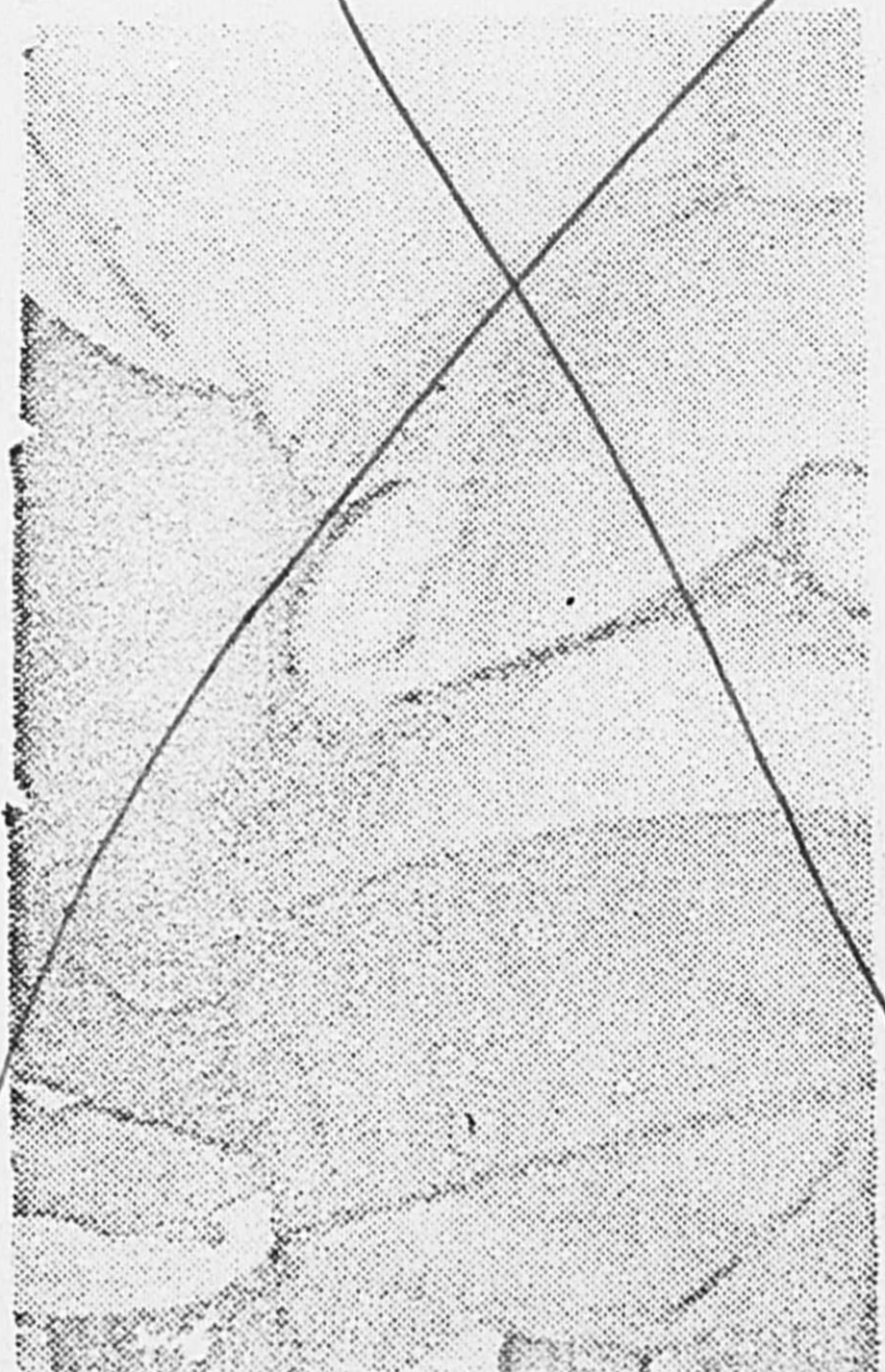
Mr. Johnson told the Premier that his letter of Feb. 7 was based upon "a seriously mistaken appreciation both of the situation in Cyprus and of the aims of the United States. . . ." He said that the United States had only one aim, that of helping the Cypriots to restore a peaceful situation in their island.

The President, at the same time, agreed with Khrushchev that it was in the interest of

See PRESIDENT, A10, Col. 2

Former Astronaut John H. G[illegible] was carried from Grant Hosp[illegible]

Glenn Change



Turks hold as hostages if Makarios would free the Turkish hostages.

Earlier Kutchuk [illegible]cated the gesture by Makarios would not be enough for a complete solution.

Kutchuk maintained that Wednesday's United Nations Security Council resolution on Cyprus meant Makarios is "bound to disarm all of his illegal forces. Once Makarios does that, the threat against the Turkish community is diminished and there is no need for Turkish intervention."

Makarios, in a public statement, pledged his government "will make every effort and will take all necessary measures in order to supress any unlawful acts and to enforce law and order."

While this diplomatic maneuvering was going on, fighting continued.

In the village of Khrysokhou, where one Turk was killed, firing opened in mid-afternoon. British officers said Greek Cypriots used an armored bulldozer and a homemade armored vehicle in the battle.

Turk Cypriot Slain

At Ayia Irini, 20 miles west of Kyrenia, a 72-year-old Turkish Cypriot was found dead after his granddaughter, suffering from gunshot wounds, walked more than a mile for help.

In the village of Ayia, southeast of Nicosia, Greeks and Turks clashed after a Turk claimed he was fired on while working in a field. There were unconfirmed reports that four Greeks were wounded.

Armed Turks blocked roads to the village and threatened to attack the Greek village of Asha, claiming the Greeks had stolen their sheep.

In mountainside villages overlooking Kyrenia, where battles erupted Wednesday and Thursday, a tense truce was reported in effect. A cease-fire arranged at sundown Thursday by British paratroopers was broken during the night near the village of Temblos but was restored in the morning.

Gen. Gyani Heads Cyprus Peace Force

The Los Angeles Times

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y., March 6 — Lt. Gen. Prem [illegible] Gyani of India was named today to command the United Nations force in Cyprus.

[illegible] has been in Nicosia for a week as personal representative of Secretary General U Thant.

His deputy commander will

Spyros Kyprianou, at left, seated, Cyprus Minister of Foreign Affairs. Kyprianou told newsmen that his was purely a "courtesy call" and that [illegible] did not discuss "outstanding issues" of the Cyprus crisis. At center is Cyprus Ambassador Zenon Rossides.

PRESIDENT—From Page A1

Soviet Premier Gets U.S. Note on Cyprus

"all of us" that the tension in Cyprus be eased.

Waited a Month

Mr. Johnson waited almost a month before answering Khrushchev, probably because it wasn't until March 4 that the U.N. Security Council voted unanimously to dispatch a U.N. peace-keeping force and a mediator to Cyprus.

The Council members, including the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, voted to give Secretary General U Thant almost unlimited authority in trying to settle the dispute.

President Johnson has hailed the action of the Security Council as "a major step toward peace."

The text of President Johnson's March 4 letter to Premier Khrushchev follows:

"I have carefully studied the letter you sent to me on February 7 concerning the situation in Cyprus, and I can only conclude that, whatever may have been the motivations of the Soviet Government, your message was based upon a seriously mistaken appreciation both of the situation in Cyprus and of the aims of the United States in agreeing to lend its assistance in improving that situation.

"The United States has been cooperating with the governments concerned, including the government of the Republic of Cyprus, for one purpose alone, that of assisting the Cypriots to restore a peaceful situation in Cyprus.

"I will, however, agree fully, Mr. Chairman, with one thought that you expressed in your letter. It is certainly true that avoiding the aggravation of the situation in the eastern Mediterranean is in the general interests of all of us.

"We should all strive not to inflame passions from without. I can assure you that this is the firm intention of my Government, and I sincerely hope, Mr. Chairman, that it is also that of your government."

Spyros Kyprianou, Foreign Minister of Cyprus, called on President Johnson yesterday. He told reporters that Cyprus was in "full agreement" with the U.N. action.

the first task of a [illegible] would be restore [illegible] government "to [illegible] stitutional legality storing the Turkish ministers to their [illegible]

"Until this is done, ernment is not qu participate in the d called for in the Nations resolution."

The Foreign Min said he had cancelled 23 visit to Moscow to improve relations.

U.S. Efforts To Dampen The Cyprus Crisis. December 1963 To March 1964. December 1963 - March 1964. MS Cyprus Crisis in 1967: Cyprus Crisis, 1967: State Department's Crisis Files. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/SC5106320444/GDSC?u=uiowa_main&sid=GDSC&xid=88422064&pg=2. Accessed 26 Apr. 2021.